

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 STATE 050459

17

ORIGIN AF-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-01 SIG-01 /004 R

66011

DRAFTED BY AF/I:JWHITING

APPROVED BY AF/EX:EGKRYZA

NEA/AFN:LRMURRAY

----- 101643

R 021631Z MAR 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

XMT AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 050459

FOL REPEAT ADDIS ABABA 2535 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ASMARA

ALGIERS CAIRO LONDON MOGADISCIO NOUACKCHOTT PARIS RABAT

USUN NEW YORK DAKAR JIDDA KHARTOUM KINSHASA MADRID MAPUTO

MONROVIA NAIROBI 1 MAR.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 2535

DEPT PASS OTHER AF AND NEA/AFN POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR OAU XA XF AG SS MO ET FT SO KE

SUBJ: OAU CM ENDS WITHOUT RECOGNIZING POLISARIO

REF: ADDIS ABABA 2469 AND PREVIOUS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 050459

SUMMARY: 26TH ORDINARY OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (CM) FINALLY

ENDED AT 8 AM LOCAL TIME, MAR 1. LONG, HARD-FOUGHT

DEBATE OVER WESTERN SAHARA WAS PRINCIPAL REASON FOR CM'S LENGTH. IN SPITE OF NUMEROUS AND VARIED ALGERIAN MANEUVERS, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA WORKED SUCCESSFULLY TO PREVENT OAU RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO AS EITHER A LIBERATION GROUP OR A GOVT. SPOKESMAN FROM TFAI GOVT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE TWO LIBERATION GROUPS ADDRESSED THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON FEB 28 AND THE OAU FACT-FINDING DEL SCHEDULED TO GO TO DJIBOUTI (CF PARA 3, ADDIS 2469) WAS ENLARGED TO INCLUDE LIBERIA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND ZAIRE. KENYA ABSENTED ITSELF FROM THE ENTIRE CM IN PROTEST OVER OAU CHAIRMAN AMIN'S CLAIM TO KENYAN TERRITORY. AS IN THE CASE OF THE ANGOLA SUMMIT IN JAN, INTRA-AFRICAN IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES FIGURED MUCH MORE PROMINENTLY IN THE DEBATES THAN TRADITIONAL ETHNIC, LINGUISTIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS. END SUMMARY

1. WESTERN SAHARA: IN CM, DESCRIBED BY OAU ASST SEC GEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS PETER ONU AS "ONE OF THE LONGEST ON RECORD," DELS AVOIDED RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO EITHER AS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT OR A GOVT. WHEN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE FAILED TO REACH A CONSENSUS AFTER THREE DAYS OF DELIBERATIONS, THE ISSUE WAS TAKEN TO THE PLENARY. LENGTHLY DEBATE (AND, ACCORDING TO MOROCCANS, TRICKY ALGERIAN TACTICS) FAILED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE. FINALLY, LIBERIAN PLENARY CHAIRMAN WAS ASKED TO GIVE A RESUME OF THE DEBATE WHICH WAS THEN UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED. RESUME CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(1) THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA HAD BEEN LARGELY PRECIPITATED BY THE MACHINATIONS OF IMPERIALISM, PRIMARILY OF SPAIN WHICH HAD ABANDONED ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE SAHARAN PEOPLE;

(2) THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH THEY HAVE NOW EXERCISED BY PROCLAIMING THEIR INDEPENDENCE, AND

(3) THE RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO AS A GOVT IS THE PEROGATIVE OF MEMBER STATES NOT THE CM.

CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 050459

(COMMENT: THE ABOVE FORMULA NEATLY SIDESTEPS THE QUESTION OF RECOGNIZING POLISARIO AS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT BECAUSE, ACCORDING TO THE MOROCCANS, BY ITS OWN ADMISSION, IT IS A GOVT). IT ALSO GETS OAU OFF THE HOOK IN FACE MOROCCAN THREATS TO LEAVE ORGANIZATION IF POLISARIO RECOGNIZED BY IT. ALTHOUGH NO VOTE ON RECOGNITION WAS TAKEN, HEAD COUNTERS REPORT THAT ANGOLA, GUINEA, BISSAUE, GHANA, MOZAMBIQUE, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME, GUINEA, COMOROS, BENIN, MADAGASCAR, BURUNDI, ALGERIA, LIBYA, SOMALIA, TANZANIA, AND THE CONGO FAVORED POLISARIO'S RECOGNITION. NIGERIA, CHAD, EGYPT, GAMBIA, UPPER VOLTA, SUDAN, UGANDA, LESOTHO,

AND ETHIOPIA REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED NO PREFERENCE. MOROCCO, MAURITANIA, SENEGAL, CAR, ZAIRE, TUNISIA, ZAMBIA, MALAWI, LIBERIA, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST, NIGER, AND MALI WERE AGAINST RECOGNITION. NIGER AND MALI REPORTEDLY WERE VERY HELPFUL TO MOROCCO DURING THE DEBATES. LOCAL RADIO (RVOG) ASSERTS MADAGASCAR HAS ALREADY RECOGNIZED POLISARIO'S SAHARAN DEMOCRATIC ARAB REPUBLIC.

2. TFAI ALI AREF BOURHAN, TFAI COUNCIL PRESIDENT AND LEADER OF THE UNION FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE (UNI); HASSAN GOULED, SEC GEN OF THE LEGAL OPPOSITION PARTY AFRICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE FOR INDEPENDENCE (PLAI); ABDILLAH HAJI ARRDEYEEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SOMALIA-BACKED FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SOMALI COAST (FLCS); AND AHMED BOURHAN, SEC GEN OF THE ETHIOPIAN-BACKED MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF DJIBOUTI (MLD) REITERATED THEIR WELL-KNOWN VIEWS TO THE CM FEB 28. THEIR POSITIONS WERE NOTED. REPORTEDLY, BENIN AND THE CONGO ATTEMPTED TO PREVENT ALI AREF FROM SPEAKING. APPARENTLY, A TOTAL OF TEN STATES SUPPORTED AN ANTI-ALI AREF POSITION. THEY WERE OVERRULED BY THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN. MOZAMBIQUE, LIBERIA AND ZAIRE WERE ADDED TO THE FIVE NATIONS (UGANDA, EGYPT, TANZANIA, SENEGAL, AND GUINEA) ALREADY COMPRISING THE OAU FACT-FINDING DEL SCHEDULED TO VISIT DJIBOUTI "SOON."

3. AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION: AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION WHICH REPORTEDLY CONTAINED CRITICISM OF ARAB AID TO AFRICA, A RESOLUTION ON AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION WITH MANY AMENDMENTS WAS ACCEPTED. IN HIS FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE, ASST SEC GEN ONU WAS UNABLE TO GIVE DETAILS OF THE RESOLUTION "BECAUSE HE HAD NOT SEEN IT." THE DOCUMENT SHOULD BECOME AVAILABLE  
CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 050459

"IN A WEEKS OR SO." IT WAS ALSO DECIDED THAT THE SECRETARIS-GENERAL OF THE OAU AND ARAB LEAGUE SHOULD MEET TO DISCUSS AND FIX A DATE (NOW SUGGESTED FOR MID-APRIL) FOR A CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB FOREIGN MINS TO DISCUSS AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION. DAKAR AND CAIRO HAVE OFFERED THEMSELVES AS VENUE FOR THE CONFERENCE.

4. OTHER MATTERS: A U.S. DOLLARS 7.8 MILLION OAU BUDGET WAS ADOPTED. CONDEMNED WERE: FRENCH "IMPERIALISM" IN THE COMOROS; COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA; THE POLICY OF APARTHEID; THE "SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE OF BANTUSTANS"; ISRAELI "AGGRESSION" AND OCCUPATION OF PALESTINIAN LANDS.

5. KENYA ABSENT: ALTHOUGH SEVERAL REPS FROM THE EMB HERE HOVERED AROUND THE PROCEEDINGS, A KENYAN DEL NEVER APPEARED AT THE CM. NO STATEMENT OR OFFICIAL EXPLANATION WAS GIVEN FOR THIS ABSENCE, BUT KENYAN FIRST SEC TOLD EMBOFF IT WAS A SIGNAL OF PROTEST AGAINST

AMIN'S CLAIM TO KENYAN TERRITORY. HE SAID AMIN'S LATER CLARIFICATION MADE NO DIFFERENCE "BECAUSE NOBODY BELIVES WHAT HE SAYS ANYWAY." COMMENT: MANY DELS, ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM MODERATE STATES, REGRETTED KENYA'S ABSENCE BECAUSE IT REDUCED THEIR NUMBER BY ONE. MANY FELT THAT KENYA HAD OVERREACTED TO THE IRREPRESSIBLE, IRRESPONSIBLE OAU CHAIRMAN.

6. ALGERIAN ISOLATION: ACCORDING TO MORE MODERATE DELS ESPECIALLY THE MOROCCANS, ALGERIAN FURTHER ISOLATED ITSELF IN THE OAU BY ITS TACTICS OVER WESTERN SAHARA. AN ALGERIAN RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING POLISARIO HAD BEEN PRINTED WITH AN OFFICIAL OAU SECRETARIAT LOG NUMBER EVEN THOUGH IT HAD NEVER BEEN OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED BY THE POLCOM. THIS RESOLUTION WAS THEN SUBMITTED TO THE PLENARY BY CAPE VERDE (ACTING AS ALGERIA'S STALKING HORSE) AS A POLCOM REPORT. MOROCCO, WHICH HAD LEARNED OF THE PLANNED TACTIC EARLIER, THEN BLEW THE WHISTLE. THIS ALGERIAN-CAPE VERDE MANEUVER REPORTEDLY LOST ALGERIA ANY HOPE OF OBTAINING A MAJORITY OF SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION. LATER, THE MOROCCON DEL TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT ALGERIA WAS ISOLATING ITSELF IN THE OAU "AS IT HAD DONE IN THE ARAB LEAGUE (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PDRY)" WHEN IT CONDEMNED KING HASSAN  
CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 050459

IN 1974.

7. OAU SECRETARIAT UNDER FIRE: MOROCCO BLAMED CAPE VERDE/ALGERIAN RESOLUTION MANEUVER ON UNNAMED "IRRESPONSIBLE SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS." THIS WAS AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO ASST SEC GEN DJOUDI, AN ALGERIAN, WHO IS BELIEVED RESPONSIBLE FOR GIVING THE UNOFFICIAL RESOLUTION AN OAU LOG NUMBER. THE SECRETARIAT HAS PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE THE MATTER. COMMENT: OTHER STATES, MOST NOTABLY ETHIOPIA, HAVE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF INAPPROPRIATE AND UNAUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES BY SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY TAMPERING WITH THE AGREED UPON TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS TO REFLECT MORE CLOSELY THE VIEWS OF THEIR OWN GOVTS OR FRIENDS OF THEIR GOVTS. ETHIOPIAN MOFA SOURCES INFORM US THAT THEY INTEND TO KEEP THIS "DOCUMENTATION" ISSUE BEFORE THE OAU AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

8. "RADICAL-MODERATE" DIFFERENCES CONTINUE: AS IN THE ANGOLAN SUMMIT, OAU MEMBERS WERE SPLIT MORE ALONG IDEOLOGICAL LINES THAN ALONG GEOGRAPHICAL, LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC ONES. IN THE TOUCHSTONE ISSUE OF WESTERN SAHARA, HOWEVER, THE "RADICAL" BLOC WAS SMALLER (LESS THAN 20) THAN IN THE ANGOLAN CASE. THIS WAS PROBABLY DUE TO THE LACK OF A NON-BLACK AFRICAN TARGET (I.E., SOUTH AFRICA) TO RALLY AGAINST. "MODERATE" CRITICISM OF "RADICAL KNOW-NOTHINGS" AND INEXPERIENCE WAS VERY WIDESPREAD IN THE CONFERENCE CORRIDORS. SEVERAL "MODERATE" DELS SPOKE OF DEVELOPING TACTICS TO OPPOSE

THE "RADICAL" GROUP PREPARATORY TO THE SUMMIT IN  
MAURITIUS.

9. EXCEPT FOR FRANCE (OVER THE COMOROS) AND SPAIN (WESTERN  
SAHARA), WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE U.S.,  
RECEIVED LITTLE OR NO CRITICISM. ALTHOUGH THE CM MADE THE  
RITUAL CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL, REPORTEDLY NOTHING WAS SAID  
ABOUT ITS EXPULSION FROM THE UN, ETC. OTHER NON-AFRICAN,  
NON-ARAB MULTILATERAL ISSUES, SUCH AS PUERTO RICO, KOREA,  
ETC., WERE NOT DISCUSSED.  
HUMMEL

UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, RECOGNITION, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, LIBERATION FRONTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 02 MAR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ullricre  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE050459  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JWHITING  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760080-1188  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t197603103/aaaadmru.tel  
**Line Count:** 235  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 ADDIS ABABA 2469  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ullricre  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by ullricre>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** OAU CM ENDS WITHOUT RECOGNIZING POLISARIO  
**TAGS:** PFOR, XA, XF, AG, SS, MO, ET, FT, SO, KE, OAU, POLISARIO  
**To:** AF POSTS MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006